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POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL

UNITED STATES LAYS GROUNDWORK FOR NEW ARMED INTERVENTIONS

LD191525 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Mar 80 Morning Edition p 5 LD

[Article by V. Matveyev under the rubric "A Political Observer's Opinion": "Reason and Obsession"]

[Text] At the end of last year the founding congress of the U.S. Peace Council--an association formed on a wide social basis--was held in Philadelphia. The author of this article was present at the Philadelphia congress as a representative of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace.

United States' supporters of peace were a long time preparing for this forum, pinning well-founded hopes on it for rallying on a national scale forces which advocate the triumph of reason over recklessness and a rebuff for the powerful circles in their own country whose actions threaten both the Americans' own peaceful life and the destiny of mankind in general.

It so happened that this forum's work coincided with the whipping up of an atmosphere of military hysteria in the United States--hysteria fanned under the pretext of what was described as the "challenge to America's prestige by Iran."

From morning to late at night a "psychological attack" was carried out on Americans from television screens and newspapers and unrestrained passions were kindled over events in Iran. Observing all this fuss, you might think the American masses are only waiting for the warcry to charge into battle. On Pennsylvania University campus, where the U.S. Peace Council took place, nobody was marching with placards saying "let us punish Iran!" And nowhere could you see any of the bellicose slogans which flashed from the television screens.

The banners inside the hall where the delegates met called for "peace and justice," the "strengthening of detente" and the ratification of the SALT II treaty and asserted the "right to peace as every man's right." The 400 or so delegates in the hall represented 49 different U.S. national organizations. Among those who supported the convening of this conference were Angela Davis, the well-known public figure, U.S. Congressmen J. Conyers and R. Dellums; (E.) Henderson, president of the Detroit Municipal Council; (Ye.) Newport, mayor of Berkeley; Dick Gregory, the movie actor; (F.) Stover, president of the Association of U.S. Farmers, prominent labor unionists and other figures.

People of different convictions united by the desire to put an end to the arms race and military preparations came here from America's cities, big and small, which are suffering equally from the shortage of resources for urgent civic needs. (Dzh. Gerena-Valentin), member of the New York Municipal Council, spoke from the congress platform on how the South Bronx, where he lives, is like a war-ravaged territory. "We do not want a new cold war!" he said, to applause from those present.

United States' peace supporters are now having to operate in particularly difficult conditions. The pillars of bourgeois society have already tried to damp down the intensification of class contradictions in the conditions of the exacerbation of economic difficulties, arousing among the working people sentiments which would distract ordinary people's attention from the true causes of their disastrous situation.

The poisoned seeds of chauvinism and military fever, falling on this ground in the United States, put down roots in some places. Those who have visited the United States quite recently and in the late sixties have seen, it would seem, two different nations. Youths marching with antiwar placards on ranks of police armed with submachine guns, and thugs brandishing clubs and ready to "beat and destroy..."

(Darril Geyts), Los Angeles chief of police, recently boasted that he would only have to send his operations patrol to Teheran to make the Iranian authorities "quake." This is only slightly more absurd," NEW YORK TIMES observer Tom Wicker wrote, "than the administration's plan providing for the creation of new flexible strike forces to patrol the Indian Ocean."

The whipping up of hysteria over events in Iran and then in Afghanistan is no accident and not unexpected. The fever created in this connection followed soon after the provocative ballyhoo inspired by Washington concerning the "threat" to the United States allegedly emanating from Cuba. However, that propaganda canard did not even take to the air, but burst like a soap bubble.

Urgent new injections of the same kind were needed to influence the public. As is now absolutely clear, the most serious actions and steps of a militarist nature were hurriedly prepared behind the scenes in Washington.

The scenario which is being played out is so familiar because it was launched in Washington in the late forties and early fifties, resulting in the kindling of the "cold war." But now people across the ocean are shouting loudly about the "threat" to the United States allegedly arising from the USSR with respect to supplies of oil from the Persian Gulf countries.

For many a year now the American public has been subjected to intensive psychological attacks on the part of those who play in the most shameless way on Americans' fears and apprehensions--which, incidentally, are also

fanned not without help from the mass media--regarding how to avoid finding themselves waiting at empty gasoline pumps with their cars and living in houses where the heating does not warm up the accommodations and the refrigerators do not freeze their contents.

The U.S. press and politicians have been making a fuss about real or imaginary aspects of the energy problem for 7 years now, since the fall of 1973, when the OPEC countries increased oil prices in conditions of raging inflation in the capitalist world and financial chaos. OPEC immediately became the "villain" in the eyes of the pillars of American society. It is blamed for nearly all the evils experienced by the United States in its disorganized inflation and other domestic economic shocks.

However, this campaign being directed from behind the scenes in Washington also has another, even more odious aspect. The mass of Americans are constantly being indoctrinated with the idea of the existence of an "external threat" to their way of life allegedly emanating from the oil extracting countries. The initiators of the campaign are trying in this way to "accustom" Americans to the idea of "new Vietnams"--that is, to the preparation of new armed interventions in Asian, African and Latin American countries in support of the U.S. gendarme course, which is presented in the form of the pill of so-called "globalism."

Here is a typical example of this malicious propaganda indoctrination. On 12 February UPI reported: "According to specialists, a protracted stoppage of oil deliveries from the Persian Gulf would lead to the emergence in the United States of the most serious depression in history.... Many people would have to go around on bicycles, and others would have to chop wood or die of cold."

That is a wild fantasy whichever way you look at it, but a fantasy which serves the American hawks' purely utilitarian goals. First, as to the stoppage of oil deliveries. What do they mean by that? Why stir up such fears? Such mysteries are invented to meet the needs of the policy of the American world gendarme. Then, the depression. Economic recession in the United States is already a fact. But what has Persian Gulf oil to do with that? And, finally, the pictures painted by UPI of people "dying of cold" in America. That is a fantasy with the most militarist edge possible!

What specifically is the White House planning? Z. Brzezinski tells journalists visiting him that Americans have allegedly now recovered from their aversion toward increasing military expenditure and interventionist actions outside the United States--recovered from what he calls the "Vietnam shock."

There can only be one conclusion from these arguments, which are backed up by a whole series of measures on the part of the Pentagon: under the pretext of "combatting the Soviet threat" Washington has adopted a course of preparing for armed interventions in those Asian, African and Latin American

countries where American imperialism is striving to retard the development of the process of the liberation movement and delay the collapse of neo-colonialist orders which make it possible for the monopolies to exploit those countries' natural wealth so advantageously.

In order to embark on the implementation of these plans, their initiators must have a secure home front and willing cannon fodder. Through Brzezinski, these gentlemen declare that they have succeeded in indoctrinating the American masses in the spirit required. But are they not jumping to conclusions?

Even when the hysteria created in the United States over events in Iran was at its height, only an insignificant number of ordinary Americans favored U.S. use of force against the Iranian people.

R. Mettler's speech is indicative. He is head of the big military industrial concern TRW. He greeted the measures adopted by the U.S. administration with approval but with a substantial reservation: All will be well, he says, as long as the guns do not start to rumble and the oil supplies are not cut off.... Yes, "all will be well" for the big shots in the military business as long as their million dollar profits keep rolling in. But even the most hot tempered of them must be aware of the risk to the interests of peace inherent in a course which means playing a reckless game with mankind's destinies!

"A war atmosphere has been created in Washington..." the well-known commentator J. Chancellor stated on American television recently. Many figures in the country are now speaking out on this topic more and more seriously.

Leading American press organs admit that by fanning military hysteria the Washington chiefs want to distract attention from many gloomy facts concerning the state of affairs in the U.S. economy. In 1979 a record increase in prices for the period since 1946 was observed. Carter's message to congress on questions of the economy is described by TIME magazine as a "183-page catalog of troubles, ills and shocks." And the record new military budget expenditure sought by the government is assessed even by the most optimistically inclined economists as "fuel on the fire of raging inflation." It is proposed to increase the taxes levied from Americans by \$50 billion. The budget deficit, in its turn, is to reach a record figure--\$40 billion.

There are virtually no signs of readiness on the part of Americans to resign themselves to substantial material sacrifices or deprivations for the sake of the White House's aggressive foreign policy "doctrines." Everyday life in America today consists of the seething of profound passions in connection with the biggest reduction for many years in expenditure on social and other needs. As a result of this reduction in New York, for instance, this year 40 schools are to be closed and

5,000 teachers dismissed, while in Chicago local taxes have been increased by \$100 million and 3,000 municipal employees have been deprived of work. The cost of medical services in the country as a whole is increasing at such a rate that even according to Vice President Mondale every hour takes \$1 million from Americans' pockets. There are other, equally serious indications. R. Abernathy, a comrade in arms of the assassinated negro leader M. L. King, stated in a speech in Chicago on 15 January that his compatriots are now living in worse conditions than 10-15 years ago. And now houses have been burned down in downtown Washington because of negro riots. "We do not need a president who is only good at talking," R. Abernathy said.

The true voice of America is the voice of those Americans who value genuine national interests. It is the voice of 14 leading U.S. labor unions, including those for workers in the motor vehicle, electrical engineering, chemicals, petroleum and textile sectors of industry, communications workers, municipal employees and teachers. They demanded that the government immediately reduce the military budget and transfer the resources thus released to civic needs. That was last spring. Since then this appeal has become even more topical. This is what was said quite recently by members of a labor union organization representing metallurgical industry workers in Buffalo: "The increasingly ruinous expenditure on arms, which hit at the American people, are sought by the war hawks and those who rake in profits from military business."

Meanwhile, Washington government offices are planning the sending of "quick reaction forces" to regions of the globe remote from the United States. The slogan--"defending national security..." Many crimes against the peoples have been committed behind that screen: from the Hiroshima massacre to the Indochina war, from subversive activity and murders in Chile to the invasion of Cuba, from capital investments in the racist South African regime to deliveries of napalm to the dictator Salazar's troops for the colonial war in Angola....

Such obsessions have never won laurels for their apologists. Nor will they!

CSO: 1800

NATIONAL

SHEVARNADZE MEETS WITH USSR MINISTERS

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 20 Feb 80 p 1

[Article submitted by GRUZINFORM [Georgian Information Bureau]: "Georgian Industry Picks Up Speed"]

[Text] USSR Minister of Construction G. A. Karavayev, USSR Minister of Ferrous Metallurgy I. P. Kazanets, and USSR Minister of Installation and Special Construction work B. V. Bakin were in Georgia for several days at the invitation of the Central Committee of CP of Georgia and the Council of the Georgian SSR. The purpose of their visit was to familiarize themselves with the construction and installation of the new production capacities of the metallurgical and chemical industry, to expedite the re-tooling of the enterprises with provision for environmental protection, to uncover additional reserves, to devise an effective planning system which would motivate the collectives for further growth of production of output and improvement of its quality, and to resolve a whole series of social problems.

Candidate for membership on the CPSU Central Committee and First Secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee E. A. Shevarnadze, Comrades G. A. Karavayev, I. P. Kazanets and B. V. Bakin, Chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers Z. A. Pataridze, Second Secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee G. V. Kolbin, Secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee Z. A. Chkheidze, chief of the Industrial and Transport Division of the Georgian SSR Central Committee B. Z. Barsukov, directors of the Soyuztrubostal' [All-Union Production Association for the Manufacture of Steel Pipe] and of a number of the republic ministries and departments, and party and soviet workers took a detailed look at the progress of the construction of new production capacities at the Zestafoni ferroalloy plant and the Rustavi metallurgical and chemical plants, and they visited the new construction projects. They met with the workers and specialists, inquired about their labor and living conditions and the fulfillment of the enterprises' plans for social development, and offered comments, advice and instructions.

In Zestafoni and Rustavi, jointly with the party and administrative aktiv of these two large industrial cities, they examined the growth of the production capacities and the measures for protecting the environment against technological wastes, and they worked out measures for unconditional fulfillment of the 10th Five-Year Plan assignments and for the development of a stockpile for the 11th Five-Year Plan and for the longer term.

They noted that the Zestafoni ferroalloy plant had accelerated, to some degree, the rates of construction of the main building and the charging department and had begun installation of two new electric smelting furnaces of the closed type, which have enabled them to increase the enterprise's capacity by 220,000 tons of high-quality ferroalloys a year. The Ministry of Construction of Georgian SSR and such construction administrations as Kavkazelektroset'stroy [electric power networks], Zaktransstroy [transport means], Glavgaz [Main Administration of the Gas Industry], the Kutaisi home construction combine, and other organizations engaged in enterprise remodeling and expansion are all exerting every effort to complete the work within the time limit and at a high level.

Through the 10th Five-Year Plan the metallurgical and chemical plants in Rustavi have been fulfilling the plans for putting capital investments into operation and developing them. Remodeling of the No 2 blast furnace is successfully under way and the construction of a complex of furnaces for the production of ammonia is nearing completion.

The planning assignments for the expansion and remodeling of the metallurgical plant stipulate the construction of a second sintering factory and remodeling of the pipe-rolling shop; this will enable them to improve the quality of the petroleum-grade pipe and to increase the production of it. Also planned is the putting into operation of an oxygen station for intensification of the production of cast iron and steel and modernization of the sheet mill.

After the remodeling is completed, the yearly volume of production of cast iron at the plant will reach 1.2 million tons a year, of steel 1.7 million tons and of finished seamless and drawn pipe 575,500 tons.

Facing the Rustavi chemical plant is the task of organizing the starting up of the capacities for the production of ammonia and also for the production of electrolytic manganese dioxide. This complex, which is designated by the abbreviation EDM, will be the country's largest and putting it into operation will mark a further step in advancing the national economy in accordance with the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the 25th Congress of the Georgian Communist Party.

In the course of their visit to the enterprises, the officials focused a great deal of attention on the methods and prospects for the introduction of low-waste and waste-free technological processes in the operations of the national economy.

It was emphasized that one of the chief directions in the protection of nature is the development of waste-free production in which all the types of output involved in the processing of raw material will be used in full and without residue and will become "marketable product." The Zestafoni ferroalloy plant and the Rustavi metallurgical and chemical plants must achieve utilization of the wastes, must extract useful materials from them, and must without fail comply with the norms and regulations for environmental protection. It is important to make more skillful use of the waste waters for heating the hotbeds; also, the ashes, slag and sludge obtained in the process of treating the components in metallurgical production--in agriculture for deoxidizing the soil and in the building materials industry for manufacture of cement, units, panels and fillers. It was pointed out that there are many problems but they must be unconditionally resolved because rational exploitation of nature is unthinkable without the development of waste-free extraction and reprocessing complexes.

Attention was also drawn to the deficiencies in the work of the construction, installation and maintenance workers and that of the planning, supply and other organizations. There are not enough working hands and instances of substandard work performance are being observed. This may later have an extremely adverse effect on the activity of the enterprises. The local party organizations must prepare a concrete program of action, must take aggressive measures for its implementation, and must mobilize the workers for new successes.

We must not allow the disproportions which have developed between the mining, blast furnace, and steel-smelting production, as a result of which every year tens of thousands of tons of ingots and blanks are transferred from plant to plant. After the completion of the remodeling of the Rustavi metallurgical plant, it will no longer be necessary to transport up to 200,000 tons of ingots a year from other regions of the country.

At the meetings held by the ministers in the enterprises they took note of the need to achieve a comprehensive solution of the economic and social problems, to make efficient use of the physical resources, to strengthen the policy of economy, and to eliminate the losses in the national economy. This is in keeping with the requirements of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on "Improving the planning and intensifying the impact of the economic mechanism on achievement of increased production efficiency and enhanced work quality."

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CSO: 1800

NATIONAL

WESTERN FALSIFICATION OF SOVIET RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

Moscow NAUKA I RELIGIYA in Russian No 12, 1979 pp 24-26

[Article by Doctor of Philosophic Sciences, Professor M. Novikov and Candidate of Philosophic Sciences Z. Trofimova: "The Old and New Myths--Freedom of Conscience in the USSR in the Clerical Interpretation"]

[Text] This is not the first year that the bourgeois press, radio and television have been reiterating the assertion that the Soviet state is violating the rights of its citizens and thereby ignoring the principles of the concluding document of the Helsinki conference and the Constitution of the USSR. As "irrefutable proof" they employ the old and the new myths concerning persecution of believers because of their religious convictions, the banning of the activity of religious organizations, the persecution of religious functionaries, etc. In its first issue the journal THE ORTHODOX OBSERVER, which began publication in the United States at the end of last year, painted an almost apocalyptic picture of the "forcible eradication of religion in the USSR."

The question that naturally arises is this: Why has bourgeois propaganda found it necessary to resort to such a biased approach in its treatment of the subject of the status of religion, the church and believers in the USSR? The fact is the Soviet affairs experts know full well that the Soviet Constitution guarantees to all citizens without exception genuine freedom of conscience, that is, the legal and moral right to hold any convictions--atheistic or religious--but that atheistic propaganda is totally committed to the development of a scientific and materialistic world outlook.

Also common knowledge is the principle of the socialist society's attitude toward every one of its citizens, an attitude which is in no respect based on motives of world politics. If by their honest labor and adherence to the socialist legal and moral requirements the members of a society help to implement the program of communist construction, then they are respected people and citizens enjoying equal rights in their country as well as all its wealth and advantages, regardless of whether they are believers or atheists.

But the bourgeois mass information media prefer not to reflect the real situation. What they present instead are sensational stories about "the hitherto unknown to the West repressive acts against religion in the Soviet Union," about the "mass closing of houses of prayer," and about "parents being deprived of their right to give their children a religious education."

They impart heroic stature and depict as an almost universal tragedy the antisocial and criminally punishable deeds of persons who allegedly were prosecuted not for the crimes they committed but for their religious beliefs. There are also detailed accounts of the criminal's piety but not a word about the crime he committed. This kind of information, of course, creates a distorted picture of our country and its central aim becomes a striving to denigrate socialism, to misrepresent its true character, and to embellish the true nature of capitalism.

Particularly enterprising in falsifying the religious situation in the USSR are the foreign "centers" such as Creston College in England, the "Faith in Countries of the Second World" in Switzerland, the International Institute for Missionary and Ecumenical Scientific Research in Holland, the Center for the Scientific Study of Religion in Chicago, the Center for the Study of Religion and Communism at the University of California, the Institute for the Study of the USSR and the Slavic Countries at the University of Kansas, and dozens of others.

In the information they disseminate they usually make use of the "witness effect." The illusion of verisimilitude is achieved by references to the "testimony" of eye-witnesses: tourists, members of various delegations, and dissidents who are alleged to have observed the relevant circumstances. Also, the biased report of a single dissident or some letter with anti-Soviet inclination is immediately offered as "convincing evidence of the organs' disregard of elementary civil rights and proof of the fact "all of the believers in the USSR think along these lines." The truthful reports, including those of high religious officials who have visited the Soviet Union, do not gain the attention of the Soviet affairs experts. The fact is these groups voice the opinion of unbiased people to the effect that it is socialism which offers the citizens genuine freedom and equality and embodies observance of the rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

To many in the West it has recently become clear, however, that the false information being brought to their attention misrepresents the true state of affairs and that the campaign of "struggle for the rights of man" is not helping to ease international tension. Consequently, the "centers" for the study of the religious situation in the USSR have begun to address themselves to national relations as a new way of discrediting the socialist society. Indulging in shameless speculation about the specific circumstances in the development of some nation, the Soviet affairs experts try to picture the situation as if the dissident groups in the Soviet Union now comprise entire nations and nationalities.

Thus, University of Chicago Professor V. Marcuse, in an article characteristically entitled "The Oppressed Church: the Ukrainian Catholics in the USSR," labels all the Ukrainians Uniats, then talks about the persecution of the Uniats (read--Ukrainians), and ultimately draws a conclusion as to violation of the rights of man since from his standpoint the struggle against the Uniats is equivalent to a policy of Russification of the people of the USSR.

The professor's thesis is reiterated by a certain G. Simon--one of the authors of a book published in the United States, "Religion and Atheism in the USSR and Eastern Europe." It calls for a broader use of its religious legacy (read--uniatism) for a struggle "to achieve democracy" and "in defense of human rights." And neither one nor the other, of course, mentions the fact that uniatism long ago became a thing of the past and that there are now practically no Uniates as such in the Ukraine.

The new ideological and psychological offensive launched by imperialist propaganda against true socialism is being lent not only a pseudofactual and pseudological but also a pseudotheoretical validity and cogency. Thus, it is asserted that the alleged restriction of freedom of conscience in the USSR is based on the way Marxism itself interprets freedom of conscience. In support of this thesis, for example, R. Sharlet, the author of the treatise "The New Soviet Constitution," published in the U.S. journal "Problems of Communism" (1977, September-October), quotes some sentences at random from various works of V. I. Lenin and in a very biased interpretation on this basis of Article 52 of the USSR Constitution even presses for a change in the Constitution itself and in the CPSU charter. R. Sharlet feels it necessary to "insert in the text of the Constitution a clause regarding the possibility of religion's existence in principle within the framework of communism; also, to eliminate from the CPSU charter the requirement that the party member should be committed to the struggle against religious prejudices.

In addition, the bourgeois propagandists would like to have the schools and VUZ's teach God's law. In their eyes this would be proof of genuine freedom of conscience. And since the educational institutions maintain atheistic education, there cannot then be any freedom of speech either.

Yes, imperialist propaganda recognizes as the true interpretation of freedom of conscience only the bourgeois version--unlimited freedom of religion and the restricting of atheistic education. But for the exercise of a true freedom of conscience we must create the legal, political and ideological conditions which enable the individual to consciously define his attitude toward religion. This requires the enhancement of culture and education, a secular school system, and the dissemination of scientific knowledge. The sine qua non of true freedom of conscience is the propagation of atheism and the development of atheistic beliefs.

As we know, the renegades from Marxism are currently in vogue in bourgeois propaganda. To lend "conviction" to their utterances the present-day revisionists criticize the rudiments of Marxism. They are particularly fond of disputing Engels' definition of religion as a chimerical reflection in peoples' consciousness of the terrestrial forces which hold sway over them and which also take on the form of unearthly forces.¹ In their estimation Engels did not discern the "enormous transforming role" of religion. This, they say, makes it necessary to revise the Marxist conception of religion in general and that means also the Marxist interpretation of freedom of conscience. On this basis they declare the Soviet state's entire policy vis-a-vis religion to be in need of revision because it allegedly rests upon "archaic traditions."

Imperialism is frightened by the historically unprecedented scope and rates of the development of socialist society and the enhancement of welfare and culture, all of which has become apparent to all the exploited and unfortunate. This is precisely the reason the "free press," exploiting the religious feelings and the falsification of Soviet reality, even resorts to describing the believers and atheists in the USSR as two warring classes and political enemies who have established among themselves an interrelationship based on the principle of domination and subordination. More than 70 years ago V. I. Lenin wrote: "The reactionary bourgeoisie has everywhere addressed itself and among us is now beginning to address itself to kindling the flame of religious hatred in order to divert the attention of the masses from the truly important and fundamental economic and political questions."² It is this striving—to divert attention from the fundamental problems of today, especially those which stem directly from the true nature of the capitalist system of exploitation and man's enslavement of man—it is this striving which underlies the bourgeois propaganda machine's unprecedented exploitation of the status of the church, the believers and the clergy in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

Thus, rejecting and falsifying the Marxist-Leninist conception of freedom of conscience, imperialist propaganda proclaims directly opposing principles in the religious issue. For this propaganda, freedom of conscience means nothing other than freedom of religious propaganda, the freedom to choose answers and the right to change one's religious belief in favor of others.

In practice this principle is implemented in a number of capitalist countries by recognizing religion as the official state ideology, banning the dissemination and propagation of atheism, making the official right to occupy state positions subject to the profession of some religion, and direct or indirect discrimination against those who refuse to carry out religious rites and openly proclaim their atheistic convictions. All this is repeatedly confirmed by the Leninist directive which holds that all the bourgeois formal freedoms, including freedom of conscience, represent nothing more than a simple declaration designed to delude the people's masses.

True freedom of conscience and the basic legal statutes which are confirmed in the USSR Constitution do not establish any juridical difference between believers and nonbelievers and they do not set up any restrictions for those who believe in God and observe religious rites. The Soviet Union restricts not freedom of religion but the freedom of activity of the extremists who encroach upon the interests of the state and upon the rights, honor and dignity of Soviet citizens. In safeguarding the rights and interests of its citizens on the basis of the principle of social justice and equality, it does not allow the violation of these rights under the demagogic banner of freedom of religion.

While restricting the unlawful activity of those Soviet citizens who would like to use the religious relations for their narrow mercenary purposes, the Soviet state does not interfere, either directly or indirectly, in purely religious matters, dogma and cults. On the contrary, every attempt to employ administrative means in combatting religion is considered a violation of freedom of conscience. At the same time, our state does not grant any privileges to atheists and nonbelievers.

Does all this mean that the Soviet state is indifferent about the world outlook orientation of its citizens and does not concern itself with the development of a scientific world outlook?

Not at all! The Soviet state is carrying out important cultural and educational work, is bringing the broad masses of workers into labor, social and political activity, and is providing a communist education which encompasses atheistic education as a component element. All the practical activity of the socialist state, resting upon the firm foundation of Marxism-Leninism, is shaping a scientific world outlook in the Soviet people and is educating them in the spirit of communism. The incredibly rapid rates of the social, economic, political and cultural changes in which the people's masses are direct participants and eyewitnesses comprise an objective basis for the inevitable development of atheistic convictions.

It should also be borne in mind that in a developed socialist society atheistic education is not limited to the tasks of overcoming religious prejudices and superstitions. It embraces diverse groups of people--believers as well as nonbelievers, vacillating as well as indifferent ones. Its aim is to develop in all the people, without exception, within the context of the prevailing scientific and materialistic world outlook, a consistently scientific system of views which is based on the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism. Our confidence that such a task is feasible is not a result of abstract reasoning. The growth of labor enthusiasm, the creative activity, education and culture are of themselves producing a fundamental change in the consciousness of the people, freeing them from illusory ideas and vain hopes.

Today we—as first-hand eyewitnesses— are convinced of the correctness of K. Marx's conclusion that religion will disappear to the degree that socialism develops.³

On this basis, however, bourgeois literature is propagandizing the thesis that the laws of the Soviet state approve atheism as official state doctrine and that the state itself has been declared "atheistic." To the ideologists of the bourgeoisie the term "atheistic state" implies a state which persecutes believers, bans the activity of religious associations, and pursues a policy of discrimination against the church and the clergy. Consequently, they say, it is not a matter of freedom of conscience but a situation wherein "compulsory atheism" and "forcible eradication of religion" predominate.

Our socialist state not only does not impose bans on religion but considers this statement of the question as anarchical verbiage and in principle foreign to socialist democracy.

In creating material, social and political conditions which will insure freedom and equal rights for its citizens, the Soviet state is not interested in placing any restrictions whatsoever on religious believers because this would be contrary to the law and would be detrimental to the cause of communist construction.

The ideologists and policy-makers of capitalism cannot name a single Soviet law which would approve atheism as a special state establishment--there are no such laws. The only confirmation they can cite is the statement about the existence of "secret laws" respecting discrimination directed against the religion of some dissidents who, as we know, comprise a very militant wing of the bourgeois propaganda machine. The worth of such "disclosures" is nil.

In addition to the labor, political, moral, patriotic and international aspects, atheistic education is one of the important links in the overall system of communist education. It plays a significant role in the development of an individual with a high level of ideological and political maturity and with those features of socialist consciousness which do not tolerate the bourgeois propaganda which has launched a general ideological assault on socialism and is inoculating the Soviet people with political apathy and nihilism as well as indifference to public and state problems.

There is no truth in the statements of those who represent the character of atheistic education as amounting to only a criticism of the bankruptcy of religious world views and exposure of the improper acts of some of the religious ministers and believers. It primarily develops wholesome spiritual requirements and interests and contributes to the acquisition of knowledge and expansion of the horizon, the enhancement of consciousness and culture, and the enrichment of man's spiritual world.

FOOTNOTES

1. See: K. Marx and F. Engels. "Works," Vol 20, p 328.

2. V. I. Lenin. "Complete Collected Works," Vol 12, p 146.

3. See: K. Marx and F. Engels. "Works," Vol 45, p 474.

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REGIONAL

MASHEROV ADDRESSES BSSR PARTY, SOVIET, TRADE UNION, KOMSOMOL STAFF

LD270839 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 14 Mar 80 pp 1-2 LD

[Apparent text of speech by P. M. Masherov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Belorussian CP Central Committee, at 12 March Minsk meeting of the Belorussian Party, Soviet Trade Union and Komsomol aktiv: "Toiling in a Shock-work Manner and Increasing the Responsibility of Cadres in All Sectors of Work"]

[Text] Comrades!

Exceptionally important events have just occurred: We have received the Challenge Red Banner awarded to our republic for its successes in the national economy; we have also joined you in approving the socialist pledges for the current year adopted by the republic's labor collectives and have signed an agreement on socialist competition between the working people of the Belorussian SSR and the Lithuanian SSR.

The banner we have received is not just a high assessment of what has been done, it also places great obligations on all of us. We are confronted with the task of insuring that the republic continues to hold firmly on to the banner, as has been the case hitherto (for 7 straight years now). Understandably this is possible given a constant and invariably substantial improvement in our work in all spheres of activity.

The now traditional labor rivalry between ourselves and Lithuanian collectives in industrial and agricultural enterprises, transport and construction projects and scientific and cultural establishments is a powerful factor in implementing the 25th CPSU Congress decisions and comprehensively strengthening the friendship and international ties between our peoples.

Guided by the provisions and conclusions spelled out in the speech by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the CPSU Central Committee November (1979) Plenum, our republic's urban and rural workers are fully determined to respond with concrete actions to the party's appeal to turn the final year of the 10th 5-year plan into a year of shock labor, a year of Lenin-style work.

These patriotic aspirations received renewed impetus from Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speech at his meeting with the voters of Moscow's Baumanskiy electoral okrug, the arguments and demands which Comrade L. I. Brezhnev spelled out at the CPSU Central Committee November (1979) plenum, his election speech and his speech to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session on 4 March are documents of great political moment and mobilizing force. They constitute a militant work program for party, state and economic organs and all working people in successfully fulfilling the 10th 5-year plan targets and greeting in a fitting manner the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth and the 26th CPSU Congress.

By their unanimous vote for the candidates of the unbreakable bloc of communists and nonparty people at the elections to the Belorussian Supreme Soviet and local soviets of working people's deputies Soviet Belorussia's workers, kolkhoz members and intelligentsia expressed full and undivided support for the CPSU's political course, which accords with their vital interests, and demonstrated with renewed force their monolithic cohesion around their dear party and aspirations to live and work in communist manner.

The socialist pledges that have been adopted encapsulate our people's determination and energy, creative initiative and ardent desire to successfully complete the 10th 5-year plan and thereby create a firm foundation for further progress.

But scaling the heights that have been charted requires party, Soviet, trade union and economic organs to galvanize all their work and implement specific measures to improve the economic mechanism, introduce scientific and technical achievements into practice everywhere and raise everybody's standard of discipline and sense of responsibility for the fate of the pledges.

These and other questions have been covered in considerable detail in the interesting and extremely pithy speech delivered at our meeting by Comrade Aleksey Ivanovich Shibayev and also in the speech from Comrade Aleksandr Nikiforovich Aksenov. I would like to dwell once again on a few of them which are of the greatest significance for us at this time.

As is known, industrial enterprise collectives have adopted a pledge to fulfill the annual plan ahead of schedule and--and this is very important--insure a 43 percent increase in production, as the 5-year plan target stipulates. This will also constitute a good foundation for work in the 11th 5-Year Plan.

The results of the first 2 months of the current year testify that on the whole our industry coped with the task it has been set. The increase in output in January-February totalled 8.8 percent as against a plan figure of 5.9 percent and a pledge for the year of 7 percent. Output worth R65. million was manufactured over and above the targets. Labor productivity increased 6.5 percent, which is also in excess of the planned annual rate.

At the same time, when analyzing the results obtained from the viewpoint of the tasks facing us it should be noted that what has been achieved must not make us complacent. The point is that the relatively high production growth rates of the last 2 months are explained not so much by the fulfillment of tight plans as by the low base figures with which these results are compared. Let me remind you that in January-February last year production growth totaled only 6.3 percent. Furthermore it must be stressed that current average daily output is not enough to insure that we reach the level specified by the pledges. Calculations show that to insure the fulfillment of the 5-year plan as a whole average daily output in the months ahead must increase at least 4.5 percent in comparison with January-February.

[LD270845] Thus, party organizations, industrial enterprise collectives and economic organs are faced with persistent and painstaking work to fully resolve this exceptionally important task. Of the measures to be undertaken I would like to focus your attention on the following:

First, it is necessary to introduce everywhere systematic analysis and forecasting of the progress of plan and pledge fulfillment and, taking this into account, to formulate and implement additional organizational, economic and technical measures for the fuller utilization of reserves for increasing production efficiency in order to insure that the heights which have been charted are definitely reached. This will make it possible to avert mistakes in work which it would otherwise be difficult and sometimes even impossible to rectify subsequently. The need for this kind of approach is confirmed quite obviously by the experience of last year, when, because of the nonexpeditious adoption of preventive measures, the Bobruskshina and Beloruskaliy associations, the Krichevskiy Cement and Slate Combine and a number of others failed to run smoothly, recorded a decline in output and ultimately failed to cope with their plan.

Second, it is essential to insure the fulfillment and overfulfillment of labor productivity growth targets in every sector and at every enterprise, bearing in mind that in the previous years of the 5-year plan substantial shortfalls against this most important indicator of efficiency have occurred. You see, in the last 2 years only 66-67 percent of industrial production growth has been attributable to this factor, which is considerably below the plan targets. Therefore the labor productivity growth envisaged by the pledges for the current year must be regarded as a minimum. This must be one of the main indicators in socialist competition. Effective monitoring of compliance with the planned size of the workforce at enterprises must be insured in practice. In the spirit of the well-known CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU resolution it is essential to embark resolutely on consolidating labor discipline and creating stable collectives everywhere.

Third, to maintain the necessary rates of production growth the question of insuring the strictest saving of material, fuel and energy resources must be shifted to the plane of practical work. The plan and measures for introducing new equipment and technology, socialist competition and labor collectives' advanced experience in this matter must be subordinate to this task. It is also important to persistently seek out additional sources of raw and other materials for above-plan output. Instructions on this score have already been issued on numerous occasions. But unfortunately real improvements have yet to follow. And time is not standing still.

Fourth, the dynamism of production development and the growth of its efficiency are bringing the time factor to the fore, and therefore our effort at this time must be aimed at reducing the time it takes to start up new production capacities, which could provide additional industrial output worth R150-200 million in a full year. Defects and bottlenecks retarding the reaching of design performance at every enterprise not operating at full capacity must be eliminated most speedily.

At the same time, projects under construction must be commissioned more rapidly. Our construction workers have adopted high pledges for the current year. They have resolved to obtain the entire increase in construction and installation work from labor productivity growth and to commission ahead of schedule a number of important production capacities and social and consumer service projects.

The implementation of what has been planned will require considerable effort from everybody and primarily our contract organizations. What specifically needs to be done to successfully implement the construction program for the current year and the 5-year plan as a whole was discussed in detail at the 20th Belorussian CP Central Committee Plenum. These provisions must be unfailingly implemented in practice and seen through to completion at every stage in the construction sequence.

Without repeating what has already been said earlier I merely wish to stress that success here depends on how expeditiously and to what extent all questions relating to the comprehensive provision of materials, structures and equipment for projects under construction and the shipment of construction freight by railroad and road transport are resolved. Losses of worktime and idle periods for machinery and mechanisms on construction sites will thereby be reduced to the minimum. The requisite number of workers and specialists must be sent without delay to projects nearing completion, having created all the necessary conditions for highly productive labor by them.

The results of the first 2 months of the year show that, although all the construction ministries and departments fulfilled their contract work plans, nevertheless the requisite intensity in work has still not been created in individual extremely important and highly urgent sectors. And if resolute measures aimed at improving the construction of production capacities

everywhere are not adopted promptly, a considerable number of uncompleted projects will remain in the second half of the year, and particularly the latter months, as has been the case in previous years. And this is fraught with burdensome consequences and, in the final analysis, the failure to fulfill the prescribed targets. Resolute measures must therefore be adopted --and as a matter of urgency, moreover, party, soviet, trade union and economic organs must create an atmosphere of all-round active struggle for the compulsory fulfillment of daily, weekly, monthly and quarterly targets in all construction collectives. Everything must be done to commission more rapidly capacities which did not go on-stream last year and to build ahead of schedule enterprises producing consumer goods, social projects and also production facilities for construction.

[LD270857] Here our Lithuanian comrades' valuable experience in comprehensively developing residential areas and providing amenities for them and building up production of high-quality walling materials should be emulated and introduced more actively. In brief, it is time construction was conducted at the level of present-day requirements. This task is within our capabilities, and we are obliged to fulfill it, no matter what.

Our rural workers have adopted exceptionally tight pledges for this year. And, of course, it is impossible to achieve a cereal crop yield of 32 quintals per hectare and insure a gross grain harvest of 9-9.5 million tons using traditional practices. At the same time I wish to stress yet again that there must be no doubt about the feasibility of the task. Existing production, technical and scientific potential, accumulated experience of struggling for big harvests and our cadres, skill create a reliable guarantee of its successful solution.

However, for the potential to be translated into concrete substantial results we must, first, take into consideration the lessons of past years, particularly last year, and prevent or utterly exclude any kind of miscalculation, deficiency or shortcoming at every stage of the struggle for the harvest and, second, insure that all our resources are fully mobilized and efficiently utilized everywhere and bring the necessary organizational, technological and economic factors into play everywhere.

The struggle for a big harvest in the republic as a whole is proceeding actively. Party, soviet and economic organs and kolkhozes and sovkhozes have done a considerable amount to prepare for the spring sowing. But we have now reached the time when we must be talking about not the progress but the completion of the preparations for sowing, when there must be a state of complete readiness in every sector. Unfortunately, as yet it is impossible to say that everything in our republic is ready for this important economic campaign. Many questions relating to the provision of material and organizational backup for our pledges have not been fully resolved on all kolkhozes and sovkhozes at the present stage.

Take seed, for example. Against a generally favorable backdrop sowing stock on certain farms in Vitebskaya, Gomelska and Mogilevskaya oblasts is not of the best quality as yet.

The ministry of agriculture and its local organs and obispolkoms and rayispolkoms should speedily investigate this matter on every farm where this kind of shortcoming has been tolerated and rectify the situation, primarily by organizing interrayon and interfarm exchanges of cereal seed.

The relevant services should also resolve as speedily as possible questions linked with the high-quality preparation of pulse, flax and perennial grass seeds on kolkhozes and sovkhozes where there are substantial shortcomings in this matter.

We have a right to make increased demands at this time of a newly-created service, the Belselkhozhimiya [precise expansion unknown; possibly Belorussian Association for the Production and Sale of Chemical Products to Agriculture], which, it must be said, is being slow to get its work underway. As yet specialists here lack a profound sense of responsibility for the fate of the harvest and are doing far from everything to insure a reliable agrochemical service for kolkhozes and sovkhozes. As a general matter, henceforth this system's activity must be assessed not only and not so much by the fulfillment of quantitative plan indicators relating to individual periods and types of work but on the basis of the end results achieved--that is, the yield of agricultural crops obtained by farms.

The spring sowing is near, and given the amount of field work to be completed within a short space of time (5-6 working days at most) and to a high agrotechnical standard, we will not cope with this task unless equipment is ready for reliable work or concern is displayed to insure that there is a full complement of machine-operator cadres. There is no need to explain that this is one of the main and most crucial factors in insuring the fulfillment of this year's pledges. Yet not everything has been done here either. Admittedly, there appears to be no reason for particular alarm if you take the average figures for the republic. Each farm currently has an average of 100 tractors and 130 machine operators. Taking into account the reserve of vocational and technical school graduates and tractor drivers brought in from other sectors, we can see the possibility of organizing two-shift working for tracked tractors and full daylight hour working for wheeled tractors.

But, first, these calculations give us the chance to carry out the sowing within the optimal deadlines only under the most favorable weather conditions and second, they blur the true situation since there are still farms without enough machine operators for even one-shift work on tractors. In addition, as yet the equipment is not ready everywhere and the quality of repairs leaves something to be desired.

Therefore, literally not a single day, not a single hour must be lost at this time. Expedited measures must be adopted to complete the repair of the entire machine and tractor pool and get it into a state of combat readiness. The availability of machine operators must be investigated in every rayon and on every farm so that there is a clear picture of who will be driving the units and so that the requisite conditions for highly productive labor can be created for people. Unswerving compliance with the entire agrotechnical package of operations should be insured in practice, with no detail being neglected. Only given this will success be guaranteed.

Equally complex and crucial work lies ahead in fulfilling the pledged adopted in the stockraising sphere.

It must be said that in January-February this year the republic's kolkhozes and sovkhozes increased livestock and poultry sales by 9 percent and milk sales by 1 percent in comparison with the corresponding period last year. The herd of breeding cows and sows increased. However, it proved impossible to completely prevent a decline in livestock productivity. In the public sector milk production declined by 2 percent and yields per cow by 11 kg. The average daily weight gain in cattle fell by 72 grams and the weight per head sold to the state by 14 kg.

[LD270905] Rural workers have no more important task at this time than to successfully complete livestock wintering. Although the time remaining when the animals will be kept indoors is short, these will be the most complex and difficult weeks of our work. And during this extremely crucial period the most important question of all is to hold out, preserve the young animals and obtain the necessary quantity of livestock products. This is possible provided rational, competent and proprietorially thrifty use is made of available fodder stocks and all reserves and opportunities for supplementing them are brought into play.

The republic has numerous examples of high standards of efficiency under the complex conditions of livestock wintering. In this situation many kolkhozes, sovkhozes and rayons have done everything possible and have not only avoided a decline in the productivity of the dairy herd but also secured an increase in production and procurements of livestock products. It is possible to note the fine work done in this respect by the cadres of Krupskiy, Logoyskiy, Berezinskiy, Slutskiy, Lyakhovichskiy, Ivanovskiy, Dokshitskiy, Lepelskiy, Lelchitskiy, Narovlyanskiy, Kormyanskiy, Klichevskiy, Kruglyanskiy, Kirovskiy, Volkovysskiy, Slonimskiy, Korelichskiy and a number of other rayons. Instructive work experience has been gained by the Bolshevik Kolkhoz in Ivatsevichskiy Rayon, the Politotdelets Kolkhoz in Lepelskiy Rayon, the Rodina Kolkhoz in Kirovskiy Rayon, the Pervogo Maya Kolkhoz in Zhlobinskiy Rayon, the Ordzhonikidze Kolkhoz in Slutskiy Rayon, the Krasnyy Oktyabr Kolkhoz in Volkovysskiy Rayon, the Put Iliche Sovkhoz in Lyakhovichskiy Rayon, the Protasevichi Sovkhoz in Osipovichskiy

Rayon, the Novoye Peleyse Sovkhoz in Soligorskiy Rayon, the Ozertsy stud farm in Glubokskiy Rayon and a number of other farms. In the first 2 months livestock and poultry sales increased in 83 rayons, milk production in 45 and per cow milk yields in 35. And everything must be done to insure that the practice of efficiently organizing matters under these exceptionally complex conditions finds a way through to every kolkhoz and sovkhoz and every livestock unit.

To successfully implement the measures to fulfill this year's pledges it is essential to utilize the potential for increasing production of livestock products when fodder from the new harvest appears. By considerably improving livestock feeding during the spring and summer period it is essential to make good as speedily as possible the shortfall in output recorded during the winter. It is essential to obtain green matter at the earliest possible moment and supply the animals with sufficient fodder for the entire pasturing season. The structure of fodder crop sowings must be revised yet again, with low-yield strains being replaced by intensive types of crops, so that the largest quantity of high-quality fodder is obtained from every hectare.

Intensification of the sector must become the main factor in increasing production and procurements of livestock and poultry. But this task must be resolved in parallel with an increase in the livestock population, particularly the cow population. Consideration should be given to the fact that during the current wintering season the weight condition of the animals has been lower than previously and that the fulfillment of the plan for this year, and also for subsequent years, will require the sale of a considerably larger quantity of livestock. Particular attention should be devoted to increasing the population of fast-maturing animals, primarily pigs, so that a substantial increase in meat production is obtained this year. Here we can and must emulate the experience of Lithuanian stockmen, who are developing pork and poultry meat production more rapidly than we are. In the public sector last year pork accounted for 34.5 percent of total meat production in Lithuania and only 19.4 percent in our republic.

In many other areas of the organization of agricultural production our Lithuanian comrades can set us an example of how matters must be run under modern conditions. We must introduce their experience more actively. This applies primarily to work to increase livestock productivity and particularly work to develop dairy stockraising. On our kolkhozes and sovkhozes average milk yields per cow are 800-900 kg lower than on Lithuanian SSR farms.

How do our neighbors achieve these better results? They make no secret of it. They are really concerned with organizing full-value livestock fattening and breeding work. On Lithuanian farms 74 percent of the livestock is pedigree stock and over 90 percent of cows are rated stock—50 percent more than in our republic.

Our friends work purposefully to strengthen the fodder base and improve the fodder structure. They devote great attention to cultivating pulse crops for grain, green fodder and grass meal and corn for silage, to procuring fodder on the basis of progressive technologies and to creating highly-productive cultivated hayfields and pastureland both for the public-sector herd and also for livestock for citizen's personal use.

Many rayons in Grodnensakaya, Minskaya and Vitebskaya oblasts compete with Lithuanian rayons and constantly exchange experience with them. Many of them have adjacent territories, but the level of production of livestock products and qualitative indicators on Lithuanian farms are considerably superior.

As always, we have listened with great attention today to the pithy speech delivered by Comrade Pyatras Pyatrovich Grishkyavichus. As we have already noted, the Lithuanian SSR has instructive experience in a number of important areas. This experience is always available and accessible to us. Our Lithuanian comrades generously share it and are always ready to give our republic's cadres every assistance in most speedily assimilating available experience.

It cannot be said that our cadres do not study our neighbors' positive experience. They do, but they are extremely slow--intolerably slow--in introducing it. And the result is that we lose a great deal, a very great deal. It is time to adopt all the best things accumulated by advanced practice and overcome the lag and narrow the large gap which still persists between the two competing republics' performance indicators.

[LD270909] Starting this very year, work to create a firm fodder base, about which there has been just talk in our republic hitherto, must be radically improved. We have a superabundance of orders, instructions and demands on this. It is necessary to intensify monitoring of the progress of their fulfillment and increase the responsibility borne by cadres of every level for obtaining the requisite quantity of fodder while complying with all the technological requirements. This is the crux of the matter.

The successful resolution of the extremely crucial tasks facing us requires a radical improvement in all our organizational and political work. This is especially necessary now, when a considerable number of new ispoplkom cadres are about to be elected at sessions of soviets of people's deputies at every level.

The program of action facing the people's elected representatives and the range of their public responsibilities were spelled out extremely clearly, fully, laconically and figuratively in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's election speech and also in his speech at the recent USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session.

The attention of Soviets and their leading organs must continue to be centered on the struggle to improve production efficiency and work quality in every way and achieve good end results. And for this, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stressed, it is necessary to establish unremitting and exacting monitoring of administrative organs' work, plan fulfillment and strict compliance with soviet laws and to persistently intensify responsibility, organization and discipline in all components of the economy, in all spheres and at every workplace.

A reliable basis for fruitful activity by elected deputies, as for all leading cadres, is the creative mastery of the Leninist work style and unswerving compliance with Leninist norms of party and state life. Many of our leaders and members of elected party, soviet, trade union and komsomol organs set an example of really creative labor, bold and tireless questing and a statesmanlike approach to matters.

Nevertheless we have to return to these questions time and again. First, because the Leninist work is a complex science and fine art and, as they say, you don't always get it right first time. Second, because many leaders believe a good work style means merely the expeditious solution of current questions and strict compliance with existing injunctions and instructions, meeting and conference standing orders, office procedures and so on and so forth. But this is only one aspect of the matter, and primarily a superficial aspect at that. The Leninist style is a much broader concept. It is primarily an innovative style--innovative in the sense that it is called upon at the present stage to insure high social production efficiency and the achievement of the greatest return from our people's labor and creative efforts in both the material and other spheres of activity. The Leninist style determines and embodies initiative, purposeful creative and progressiveness in actions--actions moreover, in the spirit of the closest living ties with the people and in the people's interest. It presupposes supreme exactingness toward yourself and others, brooks no stagnation, complacency or indifference toward shortcomings and opposes any manifestations of bureaucratism and formalism.

A great deal has been and is being done in the republic to increase the activeness of local soviets and intensify their influence on production and public life. Nevertheless the work style of a number of soviet organs is being slow to adapt. This applies in particular to the Vitebskiy Oblispolkom and certain city, rayon, settlement and rural soviets in Vitebskaya Oblast. They have not effected a resolution turnabout in the direction of utilizing intensive methods of management. The result is that targets for a number of important sectors set for the current 5-year plan are not being reached. An analysis shows, the greatest bottleneck in the work of the oblast's soviets lies in the organization and verification of the execution of decisions. Many decisions are not implemented expeditiously or fully. The obispolkom often assesses the work of given organs or cadres not on the basis of specific results but in terms of the number of measures that have been implemented or decisions adopted.

Understandably, this situation is not in line with the requirements of the time and cannot continue. Party committees must get the Soviets' work directed into the right channel. In every Soviet institution there must be an atmosphere of businesslike efficiency, enterprising and well-coordinated work, great responsibility and effective monitoring.

Fuller use must be made of the Soviets' tremendous potential for resolving at local level diverse questions relating to housing, municipal and cultural service construction, consumer goods production, the development of the education and public health system, trade and public catering, the provision of consumer services for the population and the provision of amenities for cities and villages.

Almost 2,000 instructions from voters on all these urgent questions were received in the course of the election campaign in the republic. The task is to carry out an urgent and in-depth analysis of working people's proposals and wishes, implement them as speedily as possible, constantly establish closer, living contacts with the masses and react sensitively to people's requests and needs.

Concern for man and for the satisfaction of his material and spiritual requirements must permeate the activity of every Soviet and economic organ. The primary duty of a deputy—irrespective of whether he belongs to the supreme organ of power in the republic or to a local Soviet—is to display constant concern to insure that any question of vital importance to a person that has been raised by him is studied most thoroughly and that appropriate specific measures are expeditiously adopted on it. We must continue to increase the responsibility borne by cadres for examining written and oral appeals from working people since it is precisely through this form of contact that ties with the masses are strengthened, people become broadly involved in the administration of society's affairs and socialist democracy develops. [LD270917] It is essential to create everywhere an atmosphere of a benevolent and attentive attitude toward substantiated requests and proposals from citizens and to call people strictly to account for displaying bureaucratism, formalism and indifference in this matter. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has noted, every Soviet person must be confident that his opinion and voice will be heard and heeded when large and small decisions are being formulated.

Loyal and selfless service of the people is the supreme vocation of a deputy and the basis of every Soviet worker's reputation and respect among people. This is why there is a practical need to insure comprehensive monitoring from below of the activity of organs of Soviet power and state institutions and the execution of deputies' obligations; extensive publicity for the work of deputies and other officials; and accountability on the part of these officials with respect to how they have fulfilled voters' instructions and how they have reacted to critical remarks and wishes expressed by working people.

To be an elected representative of the people and fulfill their wishes is both a great honor and an exceptionally great responsibility. Any leading worker, and especially a person in whom the people have placed their trust, must be distinguished by a heightened sense of professional, civic and moral duty. In other words, there can be no question of working in a Leninist style if this work is not based on the principles of communist morality, conscious labor discipline, a clear conscience and mutual exactingness from the viewpoint of the interests of the state as a whole and the people as a whole.

"...If we conscientiously teach discipline to workers and peasants," V. I. Lenin pointed out, "we have an obligation to start with ourselves." ("Completed Collected Works" Vol 50 p 63). A profound awareness of your moral responsibility for your deeds and actions must be the most important inner quality of any leading worker, and especially one who has been elected to organs of Soviet power and has been invested with the full trust of our people.

High morality in a leader means displaying initiative and creativity in carrying out your professional and public duties, it means displaying industriousness, conscientiousness, irreproachable honesty and crystal-clear spiritual purity. It means being principleminded and exacting toward yourself and others and implacable toward everything obstructing our progress.

Cadres' morality is sometimes judged just by their conduct in everyday life or, at least, by their attitude to their subordinates. It must be said that this is too narrow an understanding of the essence of the question. Tactlessness, rudeness, an incorrect attitude toward your family, excessive drinking and especially drunkenness are all amoral, of course, and naturally there is no place for such unsavory characteristics in any leadership position at all. At the same time, as yet we have not managed to set public opinion completely against such antimoral phenomena as laxity mismanagement, deception, bureaucracy, condescension toward people.

Negligence and dishonesty, nonfulfillment of a plan, pledge or promise given to people, hautiness and conceit, neglect toward people—all this is flagrantly at variance with communist morality and the norms and spirit of socialist intercourse, and we cannot, must not and have no right to overlook any manifestation of this kind.

The Belorussian CP Central Committee Bureau once meted out just deserts to certain leaders—for deception and overstatement of the truth. But even now some people still attempt to use this method to live at society's expense and win themselves cheap authority and inflated popularity.

A person who embarks on the path of wheeling and dealing, deception and abuses or neglects public and state interests cannot be a leader of a people's deputy. A person whose words and deeds do not tally and who works by outdated methods, does not enrich himself with new knowledge and advanced experience and contents himself with what has already been achieved cannot be a real leader. A person who substitutes barren fuss and show for specific organization, attempts to play safe everywhere and in everything and avoid responsibility and is unable and unwilling to heed the opinion of the collective cannot lead successfully.

In his election speech Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stated: "It is essential always to remember your duty--party, professional and human--to the people. Without unswerving fulfillment of this duty or the ability to make actions follow firmly in the wake of words a person is not and cannot be a real party and Soviet worker." No matter what post he holds, a leader's authority is won by personal efforts and daily labor, by his own conduct and real contribution to the common cause. The inculcation of better organizational, political and moral qualities in workers posted to the leadership of state and public affairs, in the people's elected representatives and in all our cadres was and remains one of the most important tasks for party committees and primary party organizations.

The CPSU Central Committee recommendations on the holding of open party meetings with the agenda "Live, work and struggle in a Leninist, communist manner" are intended to actively promote this. They must become a review of the militancy of the party ranks and of the organization of organizational and ideological-political work and an important means for developing an active life stance in cadres and all communists and educating working people in the example of the life and activity of the immortal Lenin and in the revolutionary, labor and combat traditions of the party and people. [LD270919] In the course of the meetings the situation in every collective should be analyzed specifically and in depth and tasks to fulfill the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee November (1979) Plenum decisions and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's arguments contained in his election speech and his speech to the USSR Supreme Presidium session should be defined. The meeting participants' attention must be centered on questions of further raising labor productivity, primarily raising labor productivity [as published], and also of making rational use of material, financial and labor resources, uncovering additional reserves for production development and consolidating labor and state discipline.

Allow me to express confidence that the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and intelligentsia of Soviet Belorussia, inspired by the high assessment of their labor, will wage an even more active struggle for the successful fulfillment of the plans and pledges for the current year and the 5-year plan as a whole and for an increase in their contribution to the consolidation of the might of our socialist motherland.

REGIONAL

MINISTRIES CRITICIZED, LOCAL RESOURCES URGED FOR CONSUMER GOODS

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 28 Feb 80 p 3

[Article: "Use Local Resources More Fully"]

[Text] The republic is carrying out the tasks of the 10th Five-Year Plan for producing consumer goods, increasing their quality and expanding their assortment. At the same time there are serious shortcomings in the work of planning and economic organs and industrial enterprises which make it more difficult to meet consumer demand for necessities. The instructions of administrative organs on the need for comprehensive use of material resources and expansion on this basis of consumer goods production are not being implemented satisfactorily.

As noted at the committee meeting, the ministries and departments (primarily the Estonian SSR Minmestprom, Minlesprom and Minlegprom), which produce the majority of manufactured goods, are not carrying out the instructions of administrative organs to expand their production using local resources.

In 1976-1978 virtually no progress on the production of goods using local resources was made at the enterprises of the Estonian SSR Ministry for Local Industry. Their relative share decreased to 4 percent of the overall volume of the industry's output. Considerable reduction in the manufacture of these goods was noted at the "Uku" and "Kodu" associations. Some enterprises have ceased production from industrial by-products of a number of popular household items.

This ministry's work in identifying and utilizing industrial by-products is insufficient. The "Norma" and "Vazar" associations manufacture household items exclusively from centrally allocated materials. The relative share of goods manufactured from industrial by-products does not account for even a quarter of a percent of production output. At the same time a considerable number of reusable ferrous and non-ferrous rolled steel, natural and artificial leather and other materials is turned over to procurement organizations or is destroyed. Large quantities of plastic by-products go unused.

There are considerable reserves at the enterprises of the Estonian SSR Ministry of Light Industry for expanding production of popular consumer items from local resources, especially children's items. However, they are not

being used fully. On a ministry-wide basis less than two-thirds of the textile, tricot and shoe-leather by-products is used to manufacture consumer goods. A sizable portion of them is sold by the procurement organizations. Many enterprises, including those such as the "Marat" and "Kommunar" associations, fail to meet the plans for consumer goods production from local resources.

Not all the potential for increasing consumer goods through more complete and comprehensive use of wood and materials is realized by the Estonian SSR Minlesprom [Ministry for the Timber and Wood Working Industry] and the Ministry for Timber Management and Environmental Protection. The production of a number of items at the enterprises of these ministries has in recent years been reduced.

A further reduction of goods from local resources is planned for some enterprises. The majority of furniture plants and timber combines do not fulfill the plans for product mix in the manufacture of items and unfinished products for them from industrial by-products.

Throughout the Estonian SSR Minlesprom only a quarter of all industrial by-products is used in the manufacture of consumer goods. Over 50 thousand cubic meters of lump by-products, shavings and flawed veneer is annually sent to the dump. At the industry's largest plant, the Tallin Veneer-Furniture Combine over 80 thousand cubic meters of wood by-products and 18 thousand square meters of scrap from window, polished and mirror glass are produced annually. However, the relative share of goods manufactured from by-products at the combine does not exceed two-hundredths of a percent of total output.

Production of consumer goods from local resources is also developing weakly at many other Minlesprom plants. Some timber industry enterprises are using for this purpose virtually no wood by-products.

The plants are not releasing for sale to the public unneeded industrial by-products. The 10th Five-Year Plan has seen a considerable reduction in supplies of various industrial by-products to the Estonian SSR Gosnab retail network. Stores have ceased receiving woolen yarn, plexiglass and plastic by-products. The furniture plants have not organized the collection and delivery to the commercial network of by-products from plywood and veneer sheets, abrasive paper and artificial leather.

In recent years the Estonian SSR State Committee for Material-Technical Supply has dodged the task of identifying and keeping track of industrial by-products.

The Committee has indicated to the Estonian SSR Ministries of Local Industry, Light Industry, Timber and Wood-Working Industry and Timber Management and Environmental Protection their failure to adopt effective measures for implementing the party's and government's instructions to insure more complete and comprehensive use of raw materials and to expand on this basis the production of consumer goods. The committee took note of the statement by Comrades Kraft, Chernyshev and Teder indicating that the ministries' managers are taking measures to eliminate shortcomings existing in this area.

The Committee took note of the statement by deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR Gosnab Comrade Varba indicating that measures to identify and incorporate the use of additional material resources in the form of industrial by-products are being taken.

9596
CSO: 1800

REGIONAL

KAZAKH KOMSOMOL PLENUM, OBLAST CONFERENCES SEE SHORTCOMINGS

Tselinograd Oblast Conference

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jan 80 p 2

[Article by V. Vasilenko, Tselinograd: "Loyal to Traditions"]

[Excerpts] The Tselinograd Oblast Komsomol Report and Election Conference, at which S. D'yachenko, first secretary of the oblast Komsomol committee, delivered the report, focused upon improving the work style and methods of the Komsomol committees and primary Komsomol organizations and upon improving organizational and political-indoctrinal work among the youth. It was pointed out that the Komsomol members, young workers in the Virgin Lands, having taken over from the older generation, are adding to their labor feats and developing the traditions laid down by the first workers in the Virgin Lands. The oblast Komsomol organization has been awarded the Certificate of Honor of the Komsomol Central Committee and entered in the annals of Komsomol glory for its successes in fulfilling decisions adopted at the 25th CPSU Congress.

As they objectively appraised the achievements of the Komsomol members in all areas of production and public life, T. Bartosh and Yu. Vdovin, secretaries of the Shorandinskiy and Seletinskiy Komsomol raykoms, N. Maystruk, Komsomol group organizer for the "Lastochka" youth construction brigade of the "Tselinograd tyazhstroy" Trust, and other delegates taking part in the discussion proposed steps to further strengthen the Komsomol ranks and to increase the militancy of the primary Komsomol organizations and called for an end to the ostentation, formalism and show practiced by certain Komsomol committees in their work with the youth. The following facts were presented. A decision was adopted at the last oblast conference to adopt comprehensive plans for the organizational and indoctrinal work performed with the youth. It was not implemented, however. Or, take the following example. At one time, Komsomol members of the Novodolinskaya, Trudovskaya, Romanovskaya and Kolutonskaya secondary schools suggested that Komsomol-youth brigades and teams be formed out of the graduates. The Komsomol obkom approved their initiative.

Unfortunately, it did not become widespread. And experience has shown, after all, that such collectives provide a good school of labor tempering for the young men and women.

Following the example of prominent grain-growers and deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet Kamshat Donenbayeva and Natal'ya Gellert, more and more girls and women in the Ishma region are becoming machine operators. It has become a tradition in the oblast to assign the powerful equipment, including "kirovets" tractors, to the competition winners for communist safekeeping. Inspired by the trust and attention, the girl-tractor drivers are achieving records in their work.

On certain farms, however, where formalism and rigidity stifle the enthusiasm of the youth, the groups of young machine operators are growing slowly. The delegates reproached the Kurgal'dzhinskiy Komsomol Raykom for the fact that the youth tractor and field-work brigade had broken up on the "Karashalginskiy" Sovkhoz.

At the conference, a great deal of attention was devoted to matters of further improving ideological and political-indoctrinal work among the youth, to developing physical fitness and sports and to arranging cultural leisure activities for the young men and women.

The conference outlined measures to increase the militancy of primary Komsomol organizations, to improve the style of the organizational and indoctrinal work performed by the Komsomol committees and to intensify the avant-garde role and the organization and discipline of the Komsomol members in the struggle for successful fulfillment of assignments for Lenin's anniversary year and for the five-year plan as a whole.

Taking part in the conference were G. G. Zuyev, secretary of the Kazakhstan Komsomol Central Committee, and T. O. Metlyakova, chief organizer of the Komsomol Central Committee.

N. Ye. Morozov, first secretary of the Tselinograd Obkom of the Kazakhstan Communist Party, delivered a speech at the conference.

S. D'yachenko was elected first secretary of the Komsomol obkom at an organizational plenum.

Karaganda Oblast Conference

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jan 80 p 2

[Article by M. Sergeychik: "A Reliable Replacement"]

[Excerpts] The 20th anniversary of the Komsomol appeal for workers to build the Karaganda Metallurgical Combine is currently being commemorated.

More than 10,000 young men and women came from all parts of the nation to Temirtau at that time.

There are now two All-Union and three republic Komsomol priority construction projects in the oblast, where more than 3,500 Komsomol members and other youth are employed. Their ranks have increased by 600 young volunteers in the past 2 years alone, primarily secondary school graduates. Brigades have been created with these graduates in many trusts, in which reliable work replacements are being trained.

Unfortunately, as noted at the conference, certain Komsomol gorkoms and raykoms take the attitude of patrons toward construction matters. The construction headquarters for the Irtysh-Karaganda-Dzhezkazgan Canal, the industrial rubber plant and the Novo-Karagandinskiy Cement Plant and the Komsomol committees of the "Karagandapromstroy" and "Metallurgzhilstroy" trusts were criticized for this. At these headquarters and in these committees one sees formalism in the organization of competition, in the leadership of the Komsomol-youth collectives and in the selection of teachers, and there is no real concern for the creation of essential work and living conditions for the newcomers. This is precisely the reason why there is a large turnover of workers among the youth in many construction organizations, and why entire youth brigades frequently fall apart.

The conference heard many convincing examples of labor valor by the student construction groups created at Karaganda's VUZ's. They perform most of their jobs in the rural area. When the third labor semester ends, however, the work on the rural projects comes to a halt until the following summer, as a rule. This occurs because the Komsomol raykoms are not doing enough to draw the local youth into construction and are not maintaining proper business contacts with subdivisions of the "Karagandasel'stroy-10" trust.

Approved by the Komsomol Central Committee, it became widespread not only in our republic. Creative brigades of young scientists, specialists and workers at industrial enterprises are presently operating on the basis of that movement. The effect of this unity is considerable. It is helping the young people increase their personal contribution to the five-year plan. It was noted at the conference, however, that this youth movement has not been providing the same output lately. In working the mines, for example, the miners spend one-third of their working hours performing manual labor. This accounts for the reduction in labor productivity and the turnover in the work force. The Komsomol committees should turn their attention to this matter.

The conference delegates also thoroughly analyzed the work style and methods of the Komsomol organizations of sovkhozes and kolkhozes and light industry and service enterprises. They devoted considerable

attention to questions of providing the youth with a communist indoctrination and raising the level of public action on the part of school children and students.

The conference was addressed by Zh. Sh. Kalmagambetov, second secretary of the party obkom, and K. S. Sultanov, first secretary of the Kazakhstan Komsomol Central Committee.

K. Zh. Amanbayev was elected first secretary of the Komsomol obkom at an organizational plenum.

Republic Komsomol Plenum

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jan 80 p 2

[Article: "Plenum of the Kazakhstan Komsomol Central Committee"]

[Text] The seventh Plenum of the Kazakhstan Komsomol Central Committee was held in Alma-Ata on 25 January. First Secretary of the Kazakhstan Komsomol Central Committee K. S. Sultanov delivered a report on the further improvement of organizational and mass-political work by the Komsomol committees toward the successful completion of assignments under the 10th Five-Year Plan in light of decisions coming out of the November 1979 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the tasks set forth in the speech delivered at the plenum by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev.

Young men and women in the republic accepted decisions coming out of the November 1979 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee with a great sense of responsibility. The Komsomol committees launched an all-round propaganda and organizational campaign and are carrying out specific measures to improve communist indoctrination of the young men and women. The young workers have joined in the national socialist competition for a fitting reception for the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth and for early fulfillment of five-year plan assignments, and are taking an active part in the campaign to raise production effectiveness and improve work quality.

The great labor and political activity of the workers and kolkhoz workers, blue-collar workers and students is clear evidence of their fervent approval and unanimous support for the party's domestic and foreign policy and for the productive work being performed by its Central Committee headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Many Komsomol committees have accumulated a body of valuable experience in organizational and mass-political work. Kazakhstan's youth made a significant contribution to the struggle to harvest Kazakhstan's large

grain crop. Thousands of outstanding young production workers and hundreds of Komsomol-youth brigades are working toward the 11th Five-Year Plan. The mass patriotic movement "For the Five-Year Plan of Efficiency and Quality--The Enthusiasm and Creativity of the Youth!" has undergone further development. Communist ideals and an active stance in life are being developed in the youth. Mass political work is being stepped up in connection with the forthcoming elections to the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh SSR and to local soviets of people's deputies.

At the same time, it was pointed out that there are shortcomings in the work of certain Komsomol committees and youth collectives. Some of them tolerate formalism in socialist competition among the young workers, are not doing enough to create and strengthen Komsomol-youth collectives, to introduce progressive forms and methods of work and disseminate advanced know-how, and not striving to achieve a skillfull combination of organizational and indoctrinal work. Steps have been outlined to eliminate the shortcomings.

N. A. Nazarbayev, secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee, took part in the plenum.

11499
CSO: 1800

REGIONAL

COMMISSION ON IDEOLOGICAL WORK FORMED IN ESTONIA

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 21 Feb 80 p 3

[Article: "For Coordination of Ideological Work"]

[Text] An ideological commission of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee has been set up in accordance with the decisions of the 25th Plenum of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, at which tasks of the republic's party organization resulting from the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Further Improvement of Ideological Politico-Educational Work" and from the report of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, CPSU Central Committee secretary M. A. Suslov, entitled "Matters of Concern to the Entire Party" delivered at the All-Union Conference of Ideological Workers.

The first session of this commission was held on 20 February.

In opening the session, the commission's chairman, Estonian Communist Party Central Committee secretary V. Vyalvas emphasized that every communist bears a responsibility for carrying out political-educational work. This is the business of all party, governmental, trade-union and komsomol organizations, economic organs, ideological organizations and the managers of work collectives. The ideological commission's task is to improve the coordination of the ideological work conducted in the republic, to insure a high scientific level of propaganda and agitation, intensification of their effectiveness and specificity, their close association with life and the implementation of economic and political tasks, the development of an aggressive nature in propaganda and agitation.

The commission's task is to insure across-the-board implementation of ideological-educational work and the study of ways to increase the effectiveness of all ideological and politico-educational work. It is also tasked with insuring the skillful use of all means of educational influence, studying, generalizing and disseminating positive experience in ideological work, searching for new forms and methods, verifying the implementation of decisions, assisting ideological work which shows promise and preparing appropriate proposals for the republic's administrative organs.

The commission's work program was reviewed at the session. The following individuals spoke during discussion of the work program: the commission's deputy chairman, Chief of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Department for Propaganda and Agitation Yu. Nyum, commission members Deputy Chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers A. Gren, department chiefs of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee E. Grechkina and O. Utt', Chairman of the Estonian SSR Goskomizdat L. Kayk, President of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences K. Rebane, Chairman of the Managing Board of the Estonian SSR Writers' Union P. Kuusberg, Director of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Institute for Party History A. Pankseyev, and others.

The commission heard information from the Estonian SSR Gosteleradio deputy chairman A. Slutsk on the implementation by the work collective of the Estonian radio organization of the decisions of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee 15th Plenum.

9596

CSO: 1800

ARTISTS' UNION OFFICIAL ON SHORTCOMINGS OF ESTONIAN ARTISTS

Tallinn KOMMUNIST ESTONII in Russian No 10, 1979 pp 47-51

[Article by Ya. Kangilaski, deputy chairman of the board of the Estonian SSR Artists Union: "Our Achievements, Deficiencies and Problems"]

[Text] The decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On Further Improving Ideological, Political-Educational Work" touches profoundly all sides of our life and brings up important tasks in numerous fields of activity. In the light of this decree, it would be timely and necessary to also touch upon the state and problems of development of graphic art.

Our graphic art has had undoubted accomplishments in recent years. The high ideological and artistic level of many works deserve recognition in the republic and outside its frontiers. The exhibition held in Leningrad in the winter of this year served as a serious examination for Estonian art, and it would appear that this test was passed successfully. At no time in the past has Estonian graphic and applied art been exhibited on such an imposing scale, creating a moving picture for our own artists. But what is more important is the fact that the informed and demanding artistic public of Leningrad received the exhibition favorably and on the whole rated it positively.

We have also achieved considerable successes in propagandizing of art. Each year the works of our artists become familiar to about a million viewers, if just the visitors to the exhibits are considered. The Artists Union on its part is doing a great deal for the dissemination of art, for example, by organizing touring expositions. The public knows of Art Week, which is held yearly in one of the republic's rayons. People get to know art even outside the framework of exhibition halls—with each year it increasingly determines the tone of our home settings, work places, public buildings and the entire environment of life activity.

I have cited several well-known facts relating to the accomplishments of Estonian art, although they could be discussed at greater length and detail. In the light of the aforesaid decree we should, without in any way

disparaging the positive, dwell on the deficiencies and problems to be found in our work. I shall discuss below some of them and at the same time endeavor to give my views on ways of overcoming the difficulties.

Comrade K. Vayno pointed out one of the serious defects in his report to the 15th plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia: there cannot always be found in our art the contemporary man, the builder of communism with his thoughts and aspirations. Mention has been made many times that we have been creating little in the way of thematic multi-figure compositions. The depiction of contemporary man and his aspirations is truly the chief task of art and one which can be accomplished in various ways. But man and the attitude of people toward life can be shown not only in multi-figure compositions or in a portrait but also on canvas, on which man is usually absent.

Marxist aesthetics and history of art convince us that what is depicted in a picture (motif) and its theme, its spiritual import are by no means one and the same thing; for example, in a still life, social and psychological problems sometimes can be disclosed more profoundly than in some multi-figure composition, which draws attention solely through its motif. Nonetheless, it should be acknowledged that significant social themes are usually shown better and more understandingly if the motif is in complete agreement with the theme and adds to it. For this reason the Artists' Union has outlined a number of measures to have future exhibitions represent more broadly multi-figure compositions on the themes of labor and life of Soviet people. It is proposed in particular to have appropriate competitions by members of the Union and young artists.

There exists the problem of the relations of art to the viewer. Our present art public does not constitute a homogenous mass, it consists of different types of individuals. The decree of the CPSU Central Committee on ideological work emphasizes the need for taking into account in propagandistic work people's growing level of education and culture and the special features of different groups of workers. This is of most important significance for disclosure of the meaning of the national character of art.

It would be a mistake to hope that every work of art reflects all the topical problems of the day or that it would be equally understandable and attractive to all people. It is important and practical for our art to be able to reflect as a whole the thoughts and feelings of different groups of workers and at the very least for certain works to reach representatives of all field of activity and all people. At any exhibition there can be seen exhibits that excite the thoughts and feelings of many different visitors, but at the same time there are others the range of whose admirers is very narrow. They also have the right to existence even if it be solely because they provide an impulse to another artist, even if he be a single instance, causing him to create a work of greater social significance. An exhibition hall with its exhibits, in addition to everything else, serves as a unique

testing ground where creative ideas are tried out. Their realization in the future can enrich our life even outside the confines of the exposition. Such works are necessary for the inner requirements of art, thereby assuring its logical development.

It may be said as a generalization that due to its diversity, profusion of styles, characters and problems, art has been able to offer something to all strata of the population. But it must be admitted that some categories of the public are in an excessively privileged position. It would appear that there is a predominance of works that primarily move the intelligentsia and sometimes solely the colleagues of the author. This is partially due to the insufficient life experience of certain artists, especially young ones with a superficial knowledge of vocations and problems that are remote to them. Strengthening of contacts between them and representatives of various spheres of life and activity would be helpful. Participation in the propagandizing of art, such as meetings with the public would be mutually beneficial and effective. In describing his work and problems that arise, the artist notes a listener's reaction and penetrates the world of his thoughts. It is for this reason that the Artists Union is striving for more frequent meetings on the part of its members with spectators. Such creative trips are also needed to become acquainted with people of different vocations and their labor. There should be revived the tradition of public discussion of the exhibits at least of certain exhibitions. These have recently been organized primarily in connection with showings of works of young artists.

In fulfilling the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On Measures for the Further Improvement of Cultural Services for the Rural Population," we try to make our contribution to familiarizing the rural worker with art. It is no accident that the Artists Union has concluded an agreement on cooperation with Pylvaskiy, an essentially rural rayon. We are hopeful that strengthening of ties with rural workers will help young artists to overcome a one-sided orientation of their work solely in the direction of city subject matter.

Under the guidance of the party organization, the Artists Union is taking steps to improve the Marxist-Leninist education of their members. In our theoretical seminars, problems of Marxist-Leninist esthetics have mainly been studied in recent years, but this educational year also includes in the program subjects dealing with the economic and foreign policy of the CPSU.

Under conditions of expansion of international cultural ties, our art is increasingly becoming the available to the public abroad. Consequently, we do not have the right to forget the role which art plays in the struggle of the two ideologies. A beloved thesis of imperialist propaganda is the assertion that Soviet society levels out differences of individuality, for which reason, it says, our people are deprived of "their face," their own way of thinking. This then, it says, results in the grayness, monotony and facelessness of Soviet art. At the same time the stylistic richness

of socialist art and the striking individuality of so many of its creators convincingly refute such slanderous fabrications.

It would not be out of place to stress here that there is presently a tendency in bourgeois art of denying the originality of the artist in contradistinction to the individualism flourishing in prior decades. Certain artists openly declare their rejection of self-expression (for example, Andy Warhol --"I want to be a machine"). Behind this is at times a direct, but more often the indirect, influence on the artist of "leftist" extremism and even Maoism (remember the famous "screw" of the "great helmsman").

"Leftist" extremism is also linked to nihilistic, as opposed to the estheticism of preceding decades, attitude toward the specific nature of art. The "cultural revolution" in China gave rise to an art deprived of any kind of esthetic quality and revolving around the copying of political slogans. Similar tendencies of underestimating the esthetic quality of art are shared by many artists of Western Europe and the United States, who sincerely believe in the illusory possibility of fighting against capitalism and for socialism through the sole means of anti-esthetic art or "anti-art."

Like "leftist" extremism in politics, esthetic nihilism in art, kindred to it in spirit, offers only a dubious service to the cause of socialism. In politics, the former willy-nilly fulfills a provocative role, while the latter undermines cultural traditions in art, leads to a split among the intelligentsia and all social forces and, in the final analysis, to the spiritual degeneration of art, to its destruction. Inasmuch as such tendencies, even though not in a strongly expressed form, can be passed on to our creative youth, especially if they allow themselves to be deceived by pseudorevolutionary rhetoric, it becomes necessary to protect them from such influences.

Both in politics and in the desire to influence the creators of bourgeois propaganda, they have not failed to take advantage of the services of the "leftist" extremists: they attempt to attribute everything negative in the work of the "leftist" artists of their countries to socialist realism. The conclusion, it stands to reason, of course, should not be made that our art should verge on individualism or estheticism, while the conclusion of the need for still greater concern about its many faces and the free development of its original gifts naturally arises. Of course, originality constitutes by no means the only or even the chief measure of the worth of a work; it is a great deal more important as to what ideas and sentiments are embodied in it. I shall cite here with satisfaction the uncalculated acknowledgment of foreign guests visiting us: the general cast of our art and the general look of our art exhibitions exceed as a whole the art of capitalist countries with their life-affirming character and optimism. Our art in this way takes away from Western propaganda and its ally, art influenced by petty bourgeois extremism, their traditional weapon.

Art runs into problems whose solution is beyond and above the artists themselves. The strengthening of the material base of culture is required by the CPSU Central Committee decree on ideological work; Comrade K. Vayno and a number of speakers in the discussions spoke of the republic's lag in the construction of cultural facilities at the 15th plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia. A material base, especially in the form of buildings, is not in itself the chief factor in the development of art, but it would seem that we now find ourselves in a position where a shortage of buildings is hindering its development to a decisive degree.

In the opinion of the directors of the Artists' Union, the normal existence of our art urgently demands a new museum or picture gallery where a permanent exposition of Soviet Estonia's best artists could be opened. Without it, it would be difficult to disseminate the influence of earlier works on the growing generation, including young artists, not to speak of the impossibility of showing the republic's guests achievements in the whole field of Estonian culture. The local viewer could be acquainted regularly with the art of the fraternal republics, and exchange exhibitions of the works of foreign artists could be organized.

The CPSU Central Committee decree sets the task of making more active use of the resources of visual agitation adhering to moderation in this and displaying artistic taste. Actually, the effectiveness of visual agitation is determined not by number but by ability—by its psychological and socio-logical validness and artistic execution. The high artistic level is ensured better than anything else naturally by professional artists, at least those who look after the execution of sketches and of layout. Unfortunately, the Tallin Ars Combine, whose personnel could have created highly artistic means of visual agitation, is forced to decline the orders of many enterprises and institutions because of lack of production areas. Therefore it is particularly important to complete in a timely manner the construction of the second section of the combine's buildings, as well as the new building of the Art Institute. The fact is that the establishment of a student design bureau, which could fulfill orders on a contractual basis arrangements of visual agitation, is being restrained because of the lack of size of its facilities. It goes without saying that the final turning over of the complex of buildings of the Art Institute would serve to improve the quality of training of young artists.

An artist cannot be without a workshop. But many members of the Artists' Union have no studio, not to speak of members of the youth association. In Tallin they have been unable so far to provide for the construction of studios in homes, although this is being done in many of the country's cities. The realization of certain recommendations of the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Work with Creative Youth" (for example, creation of instruction studios, organization of systematic meetings of young artists with representatives of different vocations) is also being held back due to lack of quarters. A final solution of the problem can be seen in the opening in the old part of Tallin of a youth Palace of Culture, which is

planned to have quarters for the youth section of the Estonian SSR Artists Union, a museum for Estonian komsomols and schools and a club for the Art Institute.

But not everything in the spiritual content of art depends solely on artists. As a form of social consciousness, it reflects social being and other social manifestations and processes. The artist involuntarily responds to the life surrounding him, transmitting frequently the emotional mood or a clearly formulated thought and to what is taking place and his attitude toward it. Of course, we have the right to expect of artists the ability to differentiate the significant from the insignificant and a party approach to what is depicted.

From time to time there may be seen at expositions works whose emotional approach is not to the liking of a significant part of the public. This may be due to the author's narrowness of views on life, his exceptionally deeply subjective reaction to something or the fact that he restricts himself to technical, narrow professional tasks. In such cases it is worth thinking as to whether we have come across some more complex and serious phenomenon. Highly artistic works always have been and continue to be a kind of indicator of social processes. It has been repeatedly pointed out in party documents that there is no place in art for ostentation or embellishment of reality. At the same time, it is called upon to contain a certain critical charge.

Each one of us knows that as yet not everything in our life is as we would like it to be and that deficiencies exist on whose elimination it is necessary to work hard and long. The author of the present article naturally does not aim at a comprehensive analysis of them; he restricts himself solely to the examination of certain aspects of one problem. The central theme in art has always been man and his relation to the surrounding world; therefore there are first of all reflected in it defects connected with man and the formation of his personality. There are frequently encountered in life such alien social manifestations as lack of respect toward others, an unconscientious attitude toward labor, the natural environment, cynicism, greediness and the like. Ugly manifestations may be variously reflected in the spiritual content of art. Consequently the struggle with defects is at the same time a struggle for enrichment of ideological and emotional content and for a higher qualitative level of art.

Our entire society is waging a struggle against defects, but their decisive eradication, it would seem to me, is hindered by lack of unity of action. It is pointed out in the CPSU Central Committee decree: "The effectiveness of educational work is significantly reduced there where a gap exists between word and deed, where unity is not assured between organizational operational and ideological work.

It would seem that two erroneous tendencies exert a negative influence on educational work; they are manifested from time to time with a varying

degree of intensity. One of them could be conditionally called "technocratic," the other "romantic." Representatives of the first tendency do not consider ideological work as a matter of concern, at least in regard to themselves. For them, only economic indicators are meaningful. All of their decisions are motivated by production needs. Anything negative in the psychology of people and in their attitude towards labor, they explain as miscalculation on the part of those who are engaged in educational work. The "technocrat" does not want to admit that any operational decision has in addition to economic consequences social-psychological ones as well. They, therefore, are not necessarily the best even in the presence of optimal economic indicators.

Elements of the technocratic way of thinking are encountered in the first place among certain operational executives employed in the sphere of culture, although, the other "romantic" tendency representing the metaphysical antipode of the "technocratic" is more typical for them. In the opinion of the "romantics," it is possible with the aid of ideological influence on the human consciousness to do anything one wishes and to subject it to any changes. Economic and other objective conditions seemingly play no role: all that is necessary is the energetic waging of ideological-educational work. It is perfectly clear that both ideological influence and the consideration of economic factors are necessary, and the whole question rests on the fact that one cannot be separated from the other.

According to the understanding of the "romantics," the sources of consciousness are to be found in man himself; consequently for the modification of fallacious or harmful views and mind sets, it is enough to change the active consideration and to teach people to perceive reality differently. The illusions of the "romantics," which are rather reminiscent of the erroneous views of the Young Hegelians, which were subjected to a destructive criticism by K. Marx and F. Engels as far back as 134 years. But these illusions are still very much alive, finding new support in the Western sociology of the 60's of our century and being to a certain extent under the influence of the "leftist" radical ideological muddle, thus going back to the views of the "romantics" of former generations.

K. Marx and F. Engels wrote: "Consciousness... can never be anything other than the consciousness of existence..., and the existence of people is the real process of their life" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Sochineniya: [Works] (Vol 3, p 25). Marxism naturally does not deny feedback of ideas involving existence and corresponding need for ideological-educational work, but it and Young Hegelianism are separated by a deep chasm. You therefore cannot fight these or those negative manifestations with words alone.

Take, for example, the cult of things [kul't veshchey], which is alien to the nature of socialism. In some cases, justified indignation over this or the cult of objects of luxury takes the form of preaching of a kind of

new asceticism definitely rejected by Marxism. The cult of things has naturally many causes, including psychological ones, which can and must be gotten rid of in obligatory combination with economic measures.

Any consumer goods or objects of luxury, or the money with which they are acquired, possess a natural and high prestige, provided this money is earned by honest labor. A nutritive soil for deviations in consciousness (on which the seeds of bourgeois psychology can fall and usually do fall) exists in any departures from the noble socialist principle of distribution of values--"to each according to his labor." When some valuable thing is acquired not by income from labor but in some other way, there is an inevitable drop in the prestige of labor, and favorable conditions are created for the cult of things (of course, in the presence of other contributing factors).

Unfortunately cases of violation of socialist principles of distribution and exchange are still not infrequent in our life. At the 15th plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia, Comrade K. Vayno noted that at times violators of discipline among us make use of the same blessings and benefits as do honest workers. This unconditionally means nonobservance of the aforesaid principle. Or let us take the so-called problem of shortages. When a person manages to acquire a scarce item or makes use of scarce services not for high labor achievements but as the result of an accidental combination of circumstances, for example because of family ties or knowing someone or simply because of occupying a position in the distribution system, socialist principles of distribution are again violated. And they form a part of our everyday existence, determining the consciousness of people.

The elimination of the deficiencies touched upon here presupposes a most close unity of word and deed, of organizational, operational and ideological work, as is required by the CPSU Central Committee decree. The fulfillment of these requirements inspires confidence in the fact that the difficulties and defects will be overcome, and our art will rise to a qualitative new level, inasmuch as the affirmation of the socialist way of life is the pledge of the flourishing of our art.

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